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Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 016398 TOSEC 010132

FOR DAY

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 0212 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ABU DHABI ALGIERS
AMMAN BEIRUT BUCHAREST CAIRO COTONOU DAMSASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
DOHA GEORGETOWN ISLAMABAD JIDDA KUWAIT LONDON MANAMA MOSCOW
MUSCAT PANAMA PARIS RABAT ROME STOCKHOLM TEHRAN TEL AVIV
TOKYO TRIPOLI TUNIS JERUSALEM BAGHDAD NATO PEKING 22 JAN 76

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0212

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF
SUBJ: SC MIDDLE EAST DEBATE: JANUARY 21 CONSULTATIONS

REF: A. USUN 200 (NOTAL)
B. STATE 15127 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN CONSULTATIONS WITH SC PRESIDENT, US SAID ARAB
DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE SINCE IT ATTEMPTED
TO CREATE NEW MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK. EUROPEANS
AND OTHERS HAD VARIETY OF PROBLEMS WITH THE DRAFT. THIS
LED TO FAIRLY INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, SWEDES AND FRENCH
PLAYING MOST ACTIVE PART AND NON-ALIGNED ACTING AS INTERMEDIARIES
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WITH ARABS. A NEW WORKING PAPER HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SOME

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EUROPEAN CONCERNS, BUT FURTHER CHANGES ARE PROBABLE.
CONSULTATIONS OF SC AS A WHOLE ARE SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW,
WITH JANUARY 23 OR 24 STILL LIKELIEST DATES FOR A VOTE.
END SUMMARY.

1. SC PRESIDENT SALIM HELD INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS WITH
COUNCIL MEMBERS THROUGHOUT MORNING JANUARY 21. WITH THE US.,
AS WITH OTHERS, SALIM EMPHASIZED HIS CONCERN THAT MIDDLE
EAST DEBATE RESULT IN POSITIVE ACTIONS THAT WOULD HELP
THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THOUGH HE NOTED HE WAS CONSULTING
ON THE BASIS OF THE ARAB DRAFT (USUN REFTEL), THAT PAPER
HAD NO FORMAL STATUS; NON-ALIGNED IN FACT PLANNED TO REVISE
IT LATER IN DAY. AMB MOYNIHAN, REPLYING ALONG LINES OF STATE
REFTEL, SAID THE DRAFT APPEARED TO ATTEMPT TO CREATE A
NEW FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION, AND WAS THEREFORE NOT
ACCEPTABLE TO US. MOYNIHAN SUGGESTED THAT AN AMERICAN VETO
WOULD NOT MEAN THE DEBATE HAD FAILED.
ON CONTRARY, THE PROCESS OF GETTING PARTIES TOGETHER IN
SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BE ACCELERATED BY ALL THAT HAS
HAPPENED IN THE COUNCIL.

2. BRITISH, FRENCH, SWEDES, ITALIANS AND JAPANESE HAVE TOLD
US OF THE POSITIONS THEY TOOK IN CONSULTATIONS. ALL SAID
DRAFT WAS UNACCEPTABLE IN ITS PRESENT FORM, EXPLAINING
WHY WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SPECIFICITY. BRITISH WERE
EVIDENTLY THE MOST GENERAL, SWEDES AND FRENCH THE MOST DETAILED.
SWEDISH DEL. AS AN ILLUSTRATION, HAD SIX OBJECTIONS TO
ARAB DRAFT:
(A) ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO 242 AND 338,
(B) ALLUSION TO "RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS" SOME OF WHICH
SWEDEN AND OTHERS HAD OPPOSED,
(C) FAILURE TO SPECIFY WITHDRAWAL TO 1967 (AS DISTINCT
FROM EARLIER) BOUNDARIES,
(D) VAGUENESS OF PARAGRAPH ON GUARANTEES AND FACT THAT
GUARANTEES WERE TO BE ESTABLISHED AFTER PALESTINIAN RIGHTS
HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL EFFECTED,
(E) IMLICATION IN OPERATIVE PARA 2 THAT THIS RESOLUTION
PROVIDED ONLY BASIS FOR FUTURE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND
CONFERENCES, AND
(F) HINT OF PRESSURE IMPLIED BY "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" IN
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PARA 3.

OTHER EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE HAD MANY OF THE SAME DIFFICULTIES.
FRENCH TELL US THEY ARE WORKING HARDEST TO HAVE INCLUDED
(IN PARA 1 (A)) A REFERENCE TO THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO
EXIST IN PEACE. THEY SAY THEY HAVE DROPPED THEIR PREVIOUS
DEMAND THAT 242 AND 338 BE EXPLICITLY REAFFIRMED. (THIS
ISSUE PRESENTLY DIVIDES EC-9 SC MEMBERS. UK IS HOLDING OUT

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FOR REAFFIRMATION OF THESE RESOLUTIONS, WHILE ITALY INSISTS
WITH NON-ALIGNED THAT REAFFIRMATION IS ESSENTIAL, BUT TELLS
US THIS IS A TACTICAL POSITION DESIGNED TO OBTAIN MOST
BALANCED POSSIBLE RESOLUTION.)

3. DRAFTING RESPONSIBILITY HAS NOW PASSED FROM ARABS TO
NON-ALIGNED, PARTICULARLY PAKISTAN AND PANAMA. THESE TWO
ARE ACTING AS INTERMEDIARIES BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND ARABS.
THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT WORKING PAPER, REPORTED
FINAL PARA BELOW, WHICH INCORPORATES SEVERAL EUROPEAN
SUGGESTION. (EUROPEANS HAVE, HOWEVER, TOLD NON-ALIGNED THIS
PAPER REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE.) ARAB DRAFTERS SAY THAT AS A
GROUP THEY ARE OUT OF PICTURE; THEY WILL ONLY RESPOND TO
PROPOSED CHANGES AS INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS.

4. ONE OF MORE REMARKABLE ASPECTS OF THIS DEBATE IS THE
APPARENTLY TOTAL LACK OF CONNECTION WITH THE LEBANESE
CRISIS. VIRTUALLY NO MENTION HAS BEEN MADE IN DEBATE OF
DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON NOR, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, HAS
THE DRAFTING PROCESS BEEN AFFECTED. PLO HEAD OF DELEGATION
KADDOUMI DID SAY TODAY TO ITALIANS THAT"NOW THE PLO HAS
NOTHING TO LOSE" AND WOULD ACCORDINGLY INSIST ON INCLUDING
ALL ITS DEMANDS IN A RESOLUTION, BUT ITALIANS TAKE THIS AS
NEGOTIATING RHETORIC.

5. THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE DEBATE STRIKES US AS
SOMEWHAT LESS CONFRONTATIONAL, PARTICULARLY VIS-A-VIS THE
US, THAN IN PREVIOUS SIMILAR EXERCISES. THERE SEEMS TO BE
A BETTER COMPREHENSION OF THE SPECIAL POSITION OF A MEDIATOR.
ALSO, EVEN AMONG MORE MILITANT ARABS LIKE SYRIA, OUR
REASONS FOR INSISTING THAT THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK REMAIN
UNALTERED SEEM TO BE ACCEPTED AS PRESENTED IN GOOD FAITH,
EVEN IF ARABS DO NOT WHOLLY AGREE.
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6. GENERAL DEBATE CONTINUES WITH ARAB, NON-ALIGNED AND
EAST EUROPEAN SPEAKERS EMPHASIZING WITH LITTLE VARIATION THEMES
OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS, TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL
AND (IN MANY CASES) RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO LIVE IN PEACE.
THERE HAVE NOW BEEN 37 SPEAKERS. DEBATE WILL CONCLUDE MORNING
JANUARY 22, WITH ABOUT SIX SPEAKERS STILL INSCRIBED.
HIGHLIGHTS OF JANUARY 21 DEBATE BEING REPORTED BY USUN
UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY 0212

7. SALIM HAS SCHEDULED CONSULTATIONS OF SC AS A WHOLE
AFTERNOON JANUARY 22, BY WHICH TIME WE EXPECT NON-ALIGNED
WORKING PAPER WILL HAVE BEEN FURTHER MODIFIED. HE STILL
EXPECTS TO CONCLUDE DEBATE JANUARY 23 OR 24. HOWEVER,
HE HAS TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT IF IT SEEMED MORE TIME COULD

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LEAD TO ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION, HE WOULD ADJOURN OVER WEEKEND, SCHEDULE NAMIBIA DEBATE JANUARY 26, AND HOLD VOTE ON MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION JANUARY 27.

8. TEXT FOLLOWS OF JANUARY 21 NON-ALIGNED WORKING PAPER:

SC,

HAVING CONSIDERED ITEM ENTITLED "MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM INCLUDING PALESTINIAN QUESTION", IN ACCORDANCE WITH RES 381 (1975) DATED 30 NOVEMBER 1975,

HAVING HEARD REPS OF PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, REP OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE,

CONVINCED THAT QUESTION OF PALESTINE IS CORE OF CONFLICT IN MIDDLE EAST,

EXPRESSING ITS CONCERN OVER CONTINUING DETERIORIATION OF SITUATION IN M.E., AS A RESULT OF ISRAEL'S PERSISTENCE IN ITS OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES AND ITS REFUSAL TO IMPLEMENT RELEVANT UN RES'S

REAFFIRMING PRINCIPLE OF INADMISSIBILITY OF ACQUISITION OF TERRITORIES BY THREAT OF USE OF FORCE,
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REAFFIRMING FURTHER NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN REGION BASED ON FULL RESPECT FOR CHARTER OF UN AS WELL AS FOR ITS RES'S CONCERNING PROBLEM OF M.E. INCLUDING QUESTION OF PALESTINE,

1. AFFIRMS:

(A) THAT PALESTINIAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE ENABLED TO EXERCISE ITS INALIENABLE NATIONAL RIGHTS INCLUDING RIGHT TO REPATRIATION, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND RIGHT TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT STATE IN PALESTINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHARTER OF UN AND RELEVANT UN RES'S;

(B) THAT ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE JUNE 1967;

(C) THAT APPRIORIATE GUARANTEES OF RIGHTS OF ALL STATES IN AREA IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHARTER OF UN SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR REALIZATION OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN M.E. AS SOON AS THE TWO PRECEDING SUB-PARAS ARE IMPLEMENTED;

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2. DECIDES THAT PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN PARA (1)
SHOULD BE BASIS FOR ALL INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND CONFERENCES
ORGANIZED WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN M.E.;

3. REQUESTS SYG TO MAKE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF PROVISIONS OF THIS RES AND
TO REPORT TO SC ON PROGRESS ACHIEVED;

4. DECIDES TO CONVENE WITHIN A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS
TO CONSIDER REPORT BY SYG REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF
THIS RES, AND IN ORDER TO PURSUE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES
REGARDING SUCH IMPLEMENTATION.

MOYNIHAN UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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